

AGREEMENTS BETWEEN AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN MOLDERS' UNIONS

The beginnings of American trade unionism were humble indeed. Here and there a few scattered local organizations came into existence as circumstances dictated. Frequently they were sporadic in character. Between these local unions there was for many years no co-operation of any sort. Finally, however, the more vigorous societies began to seek each other out, with the result that in time national unions were formed in the different trades. Once a few national bodies were organized, others rapidly came into existence. Independent local unionism proved itself incompetent to grapple with the industrial situation when manufacture and commerce lost their localized character. National organization alone was capable of representing labor in a national business economy.

It is a mere commonplace to say that our present economy normally is of world-wide type. Business interests are no longer confined within national borders, but their influence is felt in all lands. Likewise, labor has become more and more mobile until it may fairly be said to be internationalized, at least so far as Europe and North America are concerned. Increased knowledge of opportunities plus cheapened transportation have resulted in an overwhelming American immigration. Skilled as well as unskilled men have come in on this labor tide. Not all of our immigrants, however, have entered the country for the purpose of becoming permanent residents. Some of them have taken the part of "birds of passage" by working on an American job while wages were good and then returning home when times became dull. Men of this kind have usually been considered undesirable immigrants because their temporary residence here has afforded them no incentive to become Americanized. As will be pointed out in the course of this article, certain classes of these "international tramps" have caused considerable injury to American labor organizations. It will also be shown that their practices have

compelled a leading American trade union to shake off its character of continental isolation to the extent of forming European alliances to check invasion by "scabs" and strike-breakers. In some degree, then, we say that trade unionism has been compelled to inter-continentalize itself.

The first local union of iron molders to be formed in the United States appears to have been organized at Philadelphia in 1833. Shortly afterward similar societies sprang up in Boston, Albany, Pittsburgh, and elsewhere. None of these unions lived more than a few years. During the middle and late fifties a revival in organization caused new unions to be formed in most of the important foundry centers of the East. In 1859 twelve of these local unions combined to form the National Union of Iron Molders.

In course of time the National Union became the International Molders' Union of North America, with territorial jurisdiction over the United States and Canada and with trade jurisdiction over all kinds of molding, such as iron, brass, and steel molding, together with coremaking. From the outset the molders became a militant union, depending upon strikes rather than upon beneficial systems to improve their condition. Stern measures were taken with "scabs" and strike-breakers of whatever origin. Naturally, the closed shop was enforced. Great stress was laid upon the requirement that traveling members should at once connect themselves with any local union under which they obtained employment by depositing their membership cards with it. For a member to "work with his card in his pocket" under a new jurisdiction was considered a punishable offense. While compulsory card deposit was necessary to keep the organization intact, voluntary deposit was considered the proper conduct for a sincere member. In like manner foreign union molders coming to this country were expected without question to continue their support of organized labor by affiliating with the American union.

During their entire history the molders have met with determined opposition from foundrymen. Consequently they have endeavored to leave no gaps through which non-unionists, "scabs," or strike-breakers could be obtained. Inasmuch as immigration, especially that since the Civil War, has provided recruits for

struck shops, it has naturally followed that the union has interested itself in controlling as far as possible the activities of immigrant molders.

Generally speaking the molders, like other American trade unions, have been opposed to unrestricted immigration. They have always favored measures designed to give their membership protection against the competition of new elements. The union has never been so bold as to seek the exclusion of all foreign labor nor has it ever restricted the membership of aliens. Yet it has always been a consistent friend of much more rigid immigration laws than we have ever had. Were it not for the fact that the ignorant foreign workman makes the ideal "scab," it is quite possible that the organized molder would not object so strongly to his admission to American soil. Employers' associations in the trade, it may be said, have always been "aware of the unprecedented volume of immigration which has blessed our shores, adding gold to our wealth and, what is far more valuable, bone and sinew and willing workers to our resources of labor."¹

The non-union immigrant in many cases has had fair excuse for acting as a strike-breaker. He has often been ignorant of the meaning of labor organization, and generally has not known much of the history of the employment at which he has been engaged. From the organized immigrant, however, something different from "scabbing" might be, and has been, expected. Yet in many instances members of foreign molders' unions have deliberately worked unfairly in America, and in many more instances they have remained here without joining hands with their fellow-unionists. In this connection we may quote the *International Molders' Journal* of February, 1913, which thus describes the situation which once existed:

For many years some European countries were a promising field for the recruiting of molders who were desired as strike-breakers by American foundrymen. There was scarcely a strike of any magnitude but that the European molder made his appearance as a strike-breaker. Frequently he carried the card of his union, kept his dues paid up at home, and, after working for a few months at the high wages paid to strike-breakers, he would return home with

¹ Report of a meeting of the National Association of Stove Manufacturers in *Iron Molders' Journal* (August, 1880), p. 2.

several hundred dollars of Judas' silver in his pocket, but with his head as high as ever when mingling with this fellow-trade-unionists, for there was no way of tracing his trade-union treason and exposing him before the members of his own organization. In many instances the traitor's gold tempted him to return to America, and frequently he brought someone with him, until there was developed a regular body of semi-professional strike-breakers, who, like buzzards, were prepared to swoop down upon America whenever a large strike occurred. Yet these men were careful to maintain their good standing in their home union, for there they must pose as men; they could not afford to be known as "blacklegs."

As early as 1865 the molders authorized their president, William H. Sylvis, to open communication with similar unions in England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, informing them about the poor state of trade in America, and also notifying them that it would "be requisite for molders coming from their respective organizations to bring a card or a certificate in printed form, with the seal of their organization attached."¹ Just what the latter part of this measure signified is open to question. It sounds as though it were proposed to admit members of British unions free of charge upon presentation of their cards, yet in 1867 President Sylvis declared that such molders must pay an initiation fee, the same as other journeymen. Perhaps, therefore, the notice ordered was intended to indicate that a card would be accepted from British journeymen as the only badge of a qualified mechanic. A few local unions, however, especially those in Canada, did admit immigrant English and Scotch molders at this time without initiation fees on presentation of their credentials.

For two years President Sylvis corresponded with the unions named by the convention but, according to his account, no answers were returned. The chief objects of his letters were to induce the British unions to discourage emigration of members to this country either as "birds of passage" or as permanent residents and to secure an understanding with the same unions whereby their members would be prevented from "scabbing" in the United States and Canada. Sylvis considered the situation to be very serious, because at this time the American Emigrant Company

¹ *Proceedings* (1865), p. 30. All proceedings referred to are those of the molders' conventions.

was making strong efforts to supply domestic employers with "molders and mechanics of every kind." Accordingly he even proposed to send an agent abroad to warn European craftsmen that bad prospects awaited them here since the market for molders was already overstocked. Finally, in 1871, after President Saffin had taken up Sylvis' task, an answer was received from Daniel Guile, secretary of the English Friendly Society of Iron Founders, the largest British union, but it was so hostile in tone that further efforts at an international understanding seemed useless.¹ However, President Saffin still had hope that some day would see the consummation of an alliance to prevent "scabbing."

On May 21, 1872, Saffin again made overtures to the Friendly Society. His action was indorsed in convention the same year, and a form of agreement was drawn up which was soon adopted by the English union, whose policy had suddenly changed. The five articles signed by the two organizations provided:

1. That no member of the Friendly Society enter into a written contract to work in any foundry previous to his arrival in America.
2. That there be appointed in each American seaport town a union member to whom foreign molders could apply for information and advice upon their arrival.
3. That the executives of the two unions maintain a regular correspondence.
4. That the card of the Friendly Society be recognized by the American union and that its members be admitted by the latter without cost.
5. That any member of the Society who should not deposit his card within one week after going to work under the jurisdiction of an American local union, provided the deposit had been requested, should have his name forwarded to the Society's executive department with the final result that upon his return home he should be treated as an excluded member or denied admittance to the Society as conditions warranted.²

In 1873 a similar alliance was ratified by the Associated Iron Molders of Scotland, the second British union in importance, by an overwhelming vote.³ Harmonious action prevailed under both agreements for several years, and in Canada, especially, appli-

¹ The Friendly Society at this time paid an "emigration benefit" which Sylvis and others were inclined to look upon as unfair means of loading surplus British molders upon the American trade. Unfavorable reference to this benefit apparently was the cause of Guile's curt letter.

² *Proceedings* (1872), pp. 16, 60; *International Journal* (November, 1872), p. 3.

³ *Proceedings* (1872), p. 60; *International Journal* (November, 1872), p. 4; (March, 1873), p. 7; (April, 1873), p. 3.

cation for admission to the American organization by the English and Scotch molders was frequently reported. It must not be assumed, however, that "scabbing" was entirely done away with. It was, nevertheless, so greatly reduced that President Saffin could say in 1878 that the agreements, "honestly adhered to," had "been productive of much good."¹ In order to draw the lines still more closely about the immigrant molder Saffin ordered in 1874 that cards deposited from foreign societies should be sent to headquarters at Cincinnati for retention until the owners, on leaving for home, gave proof that they had maintained a paid-up membership in the American union. This rule was promulgated to stop the practice of foreign molders who became indebted to local unions here and then relied upon their original cards to reinstate them in the "old country" organizations.²

It will be noted that the terms of the agreements adopted provided for the free admission of English and Scotch molders to the American union, but made no allowance for the return of the favor. That this should have been the case may easily be understood, since emigration was from Europe to America rather than vice versa. Occasionally, however, an American molder, especially if foreign-born, went to England or Scotland for permanent residence. Less frequently journeymen from the United States and Canada sojourned abroad for a few years. To meet the needs of the latter group, it was provided in 1866 that if they paid dues to the proper union while they were "in England" they should be excused from domestic dues and taxes.³

Very soon after the adoption of the 1872 and 1873 agreements an endeavor was made to gain free admission for American molders in the trans-Atlantic organizations. The latter, however, affirmed that as their benefits were so much larger than those paid in America they could not, in justice to their own members, make such a concession.⁴ Later on the Friendly Society effected a compromise by the adoption of the following rule:

Should any member belonging to the Iron Molders' Union of North America, having a clear card, obtain work in England, Ireland, or Wales, he

¹ *Proceedings* (1878), p. 15.

² *International Journal* (January, 1874), pp. 217, 222.

³ *Proceedings* (1866), p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1874), p. 14.

shall at once commence to pay contributions, the same as our own members, for the space of three months, when, if it is proved that he is qualified to get his living at the trade, providing also his age comes within the limits of our rules and he is in a good state of health, he shall be allowed to become a member of our society by the payment of the usual entrance fee subject to the reduction of one pound [approximately five dollars], being the amount paid as entrance fee into the American Union. This resolution to continue in force so long as the American Union allows our members the same privilege on their obtaining work in the United States or until it may appear on the part of the members of our society needful for its abolition, alteration or amendment.¹

Favorable comment was made by President Saffin upon the English endeavor to secure "concord and harmony" with America by removing a "source of heart-burning and ill-feeling."

In spite of the evident advantages secured from the international alliances, the molders, in 1882, voted to withdraw from them and to accept foreign cards from immigrant molders "only as proper evidence of their qualifications." This action was taken because it was held that free admission constituted "an injustice to the unions in the vicinity of New York City," the chief port of entry on the Atlantic seaboard.² That the step was ill-advised was soon realized. "Scabs" secured from abroad were once more recruited from among union men. Some foreign molders were discovered to have penetrated as far west as the Pacific Coast, where, in 1890, they were used in a San Francisco strike. To hasten the elimination of such undesirables the molders' president was ordered to get in touch with the English union by cable. It was even proposed that the organization station a man at Castle Garden, New York City, to interrupt would-be "scabs" as they landed and warn them as to the evil consequences of their intended action. Instead of pursuing such a policy, however, it was voted to hire members of the "British" union to watch steamers leaving Liverpool and Glasgow for the purpose of giving "telegraphic reports" on the sailing of strike-breakers.³ Nothing was done, apparently, to carry out this plan.

By 1892 agitation in favor of co-operation between "molders of all nations" was renewed. One American member even urged

¹ *Proceedings* (1876), p. 16.

² *Ibid* (1882), pp. 45, 51.

³ *Ibid* (1890), pp. 62-63, 67.

that the various unions adopt a "federated card" which, by deposit, would automatically make a member of a union from one country a member in another, "no matter where he went to or came from, or wherever he worked."¹

In 1897 Martin Fox, then president of the molders, served as a fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trade Union Congress. At this gathering Fox's conferences with the general secretaries of the Friendly Society and Scottish Association paved the way for new relations. Both British labor leaders agreed that when their members who visited America refused to join the Iron Molders' Union of North America, they thereby not only proved "a serious bar to the extension of the influence of the organization," but also committed an act "not becoming in union men" for which they should be disciplined at home. Both also promised to bring the matter to the attention of their respective executive councils. Thus encouraged, the officers of the American union now resolved to press the issue and "do all in their power to bring about a mutually satisfactory understanding."²

When it came to taking definite action, however, the Friendly Society proved unwilling to submit to an interchange of cards. The Scottish Association, in turn, offered a proposition that the American union should allow the former's members to work under its jurisdiction by the deposit of their cards and payment of a "recognition fee" of six cents per week. To this proposition President Fox objected that all persons working under his union should support it in full by payment of the regular dues of twenty-five cents a week. The president's position was concurred in by the convention of 1899.³

In 1902 the way for an international arrangement was opened still further when the American union provided that molders with "old country" cards or clear books should be allowed to go to

¹ *Iron Molders' Journal* (May, 1892), p. 4.

² *Ibid.* (October, 1897), p. 462. It might be said, perhaps, that the first interchange of fraternal delegates in 1895 antedated the occasion mentioned as the original point of direct contact between American and British trade unions during the past twenty years.

³ *Proceedings* (1899), pp. 15, 113.

work in any union shop in this country provided they were willing to become union members, pay the initiation fee, and be governed by the union laws.¹ It is significant that this measure, which is still adhered to so far as concerns molders from countries with which no agreements have been made, included in its scope *all* molders, members of *any* foreign union, and not merely British journeymen alone. It should also be noted that the resolution offered no compromise as to the payment of full dues. The idea of such a concession, however, still prevailed in the British mind. In 1905, Mr. James J. Jack, general secretary of the Scottish Association, attended the session of the American executive board and made a second proposal for an indefinite weekly "working fee" in lieu of regular dues plus the "franking" of his members' cards at the time of initiation. The executive board registered its dissent on the question of lower dues and placed the question before the convention of 1907.²

At that convention a committee was appointed which worked out long-standing ideas upon foreign agreements, with particular reference to the Scottish Association. The committee report was adopted, and an agreement was submitted to the Scotch body which, in turn, by referendum vote, accorded to the various articles its sanction. The provisions adopted were:

Rule 1. Every member of the Association securing employment under the jurisdiction of the Union³ shall deposit his card or certificate of membership with the local having jurisdiction where he is at work.

Rule 2. On the depositing of a card or certificate by a member of the Association, he shall be initiated in the Union by the local where he deposits his card or certificate without the payment of an initiation fee.

Rule 3. Every member of the Association when initiated in the Union shall be governed by all the rules and laws of the Union as set forth in the constitution; and he shall pay into the local union the regular weekly dues and assessments as prescribed by the constitution of the Union and by the by-laws of the local union.

Rule 4. The name of any member of the Association who shall fail to deposit his card when he secures employment under the jurisdiction of the

¹ *Proceedings* (1902), pp. 678, 715; Constitution, 1902, Art. VIII, sec. 5.

² *Ibid.* (1907), p. 22.

³ For purposes of brevity, the two organizations are designated as the "Union" and the "Association" in lieu of their full titles.

Union shall be forwarded to the executive department of his organization, with notification of said failure appended.

Rule 5. Upon receipt of this notification, signed by the president and secretary of the Union, with seal attached, giving information of a member's non-compliance with the foregoing, it shall be the duty of the officers of the Association to notify said member that upon failure to comply with these provisions within ten days after receipt of the notification he shall stand suspended from all privileges and benefits of the Association—a duplicate of said notification and suspension to be forwarded to the secretary of the Union.

Rule 6. The Union shall designate in each city in which it has jurisdiction a member of its local union to whom all members of the Association can, upon their arrival, apply for information and advice, so that all may know at all times where and to whom to apply.

Rule 7. Any member of the Association, holding membership in the Union, who shall be expelled in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the Union, shall be suspended from the privileges and benefits of the Association but said member shall have the privilege to appeal to the executive council,¹ which shall require evidence to be furnished by the officers of the Union and by the appellant, and determine therefrom as to the justice of the suspension from benefits of the Association.

Rule 8. The executive departments of the Association and the Union shall maintain a regular monthly correspondence, keeping each other informed in all matters pertaining to the interest of the craft, and shall have the privilege of publishing same in their respective journals or reports.²

Inasmuch as further amendments to the agreement would inevitably be necessary, it was left in the hands of the two presidents and executive boards "to work out the final details." Accordingly, in the first half of 1909 additional rules were adopted which read:

Rule 8. A member of the Association leaving its jurisdiction must apply to the general secretary for a transfer card, which card he must deposit with the financial secretary of the local union under whose jurisdiction he secures employment, said card to be sent by the local union to its official headquarters.

Rule 9. Transfer cards shall only be valid for a period of two months after they have been issued by the general secretary. If, at the expiration of the two months, the member holding the card has failed to secure work, he shall report to the officers of the nearest local union, informing them of his inability to secure work, and request an extension of time before depositing the card for initiation. This extension of time shall always be granted when the holder

¹ That is, of the Scottish Association.

² *Proceedings* (1907), p. 182; *International Molders' Journal* (May, 1908), p. 357.

of the card can show that he has not worked at the trade since coming under the jurisdiction of the sister organization.¹

Later on the American body made provision for issuing similar transfer cards to members going to Scotland.² The object of the system was to provide means for checking up all emigrant members.

It will be observed that the agreement nowhere makes mention of the free admission of American members to the Scotch society. In practice, however, this sort of an arrangement is carried out, since only comparatively few persons are affected by it.

To have consummated a working agreement with the Scotch Association, however, was only a beginning of the ambitious program of the American union. It now sought to restore the ancient alliance with the Friendly Society of England and to originate understandings with the sister unions of Continental Europe, from all of which members were more or less frequently coming to our shores.

As early as 1874 the molders authorized their president to correspond with "German unions" to see whether an agreement similar to that then existing with England and Scotland could not be secured. That such an arrangement would prove important was evidenced by several attempts of struck shops to import Prussian molders.³ Communication was not opened up, however,

¹ *International Molders' Journal* (May, 1909), p. 325; the old Rule 8 was now made Rule 10.

² "Recently the Scottish union has held that international transfer cards were only of service for one transfer, and that once a member had used a transfer card he was not entitled to another one, should he again work under the jurisdiction of the Scottish union. It has been the policy of our organization to transfer and re-transfer members to foreign unions upon application; that is, if a member came to this country by a transfer card and some time later decided to return, we would issue him a transfer card. The contention of the Scottish union is that there can be only one transfer; that if a member of our organization goes to Scotland with a transfer card it would be accepted and he would be initiated free of charge, but they will not issue him a transfer card to return to this country with. After some discussion it was decided that in the future when application is made for a transfer card we will issue the same and also issue to that member an honorary card which he will have to produce for deposit if he returns to our jurisdiction."—"Proceedings of the American Executive Board," *International Molders' Journal* (November, 1915), p. 907.

³ *Proceedings* (1874), p. 78. In 1863 the Missouri legislature at the insistence of prominent employers, sent an agent to Europe for the purpose of securing skilled

as it was impossible to secure the addresses of the German societies. In 1887, a letter was received from the president of the National Molder's Union in Switzerland, a recently formed body, which requested "correspondence, the interchange of cards, and, in case of necessity, the voluntary assistance of our [American] organization, promising in return to reciprocate."¹ No agreement was made, as this was the period when relations with the more closely affiliated Scotch and English unions had been broken off and, of course, there were no pressing reasons for an alliance with tiny Switzerland, since few of its molders emigrated.

In 1907, when the convention had drawn up the Scottish agreement, the officers of the American union were authorized to enter into similar compacts with other European iron molders' societies.² Editor John P. Frey, fraternal delegate-elect from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trade Union Congress, was accordingly designated by President Valentine and the executive board as ambassador plenipotentiary to negotiate with all European molders' unions which he deemed it advisable to visit. On a comprehensive tour taken by Mr. Frey in 1909, agreements exactly similar to those made with the Scotch society were drawn up with the Friendly Society of Iron Founders (England), the Dansk Formerforbund (Denmark), the Norsk Formerforbund (Norway), the Svenska Gjutareförbund (Sweden), the Central Verein der Giesserei-Arbeiter Oesterreichs (Austria), the Deutscher Metall-Arbeiter Verband (Germany), and the newly formed metal workers' union in France.³ Later on the alliance with the French society was abrogated because syndicalism and the lack of a good financial

mechanics to settle in that state. One stove manufacturer of St. Louis, Mr. Giles Filley, asked for and secured on contract twenty-five Prussian molders. Mr. Filley's excuse for employing foreign labor was that the union apprentice ratio and other trade restrictions prevented him from getting an adequate supply of American molders. The St. Louis mechanics, however, declared that scarcity of help in Filley's case was due to the low wages he paid and they so informed the Prussians upon their arrival. As a result, the immigrant molders disregarded their contracts, joined the union and secured work in other plants (Motley, *Apprenticeship in American Trade Unions*, p. 20, Johns Hopkins University Studies, Series 25).

¹ *Iron Molders' Journal* (March 1887), p. 10.

² *Proceedings* (1907), p. 183.

³ *International Molders' Journal* (November, 1909), p. 766.

system were thought to render the French labor movement too unstable to make an interchange of members expedient. In 1911 a similar understanding was reached with the Central Iron Molders' Association of Scotland and in 1914 with the Scotch Brass Molders' Union.¹

The agreements as a whole have been carried out in letter and in spirit. That with the Friendly Society at once showed its advantages when several English molders, against whom President Valentine preferred charges, were expelled from the Society's membership. To give further strength to the bonds existing between the English and American unions, the executive board of the latter provided in 1911 that it would initiate no immigrant English molder who was in trouble with his home organization until the difficulty had been corrected.²

In 1912 President Valentine reported to the convention that since the agreements had been adopted 577 members of foreign unions had been admitted by the International Molders' Union free of charge. Transfer cards had been issued, however, to 261 more who had not joined the American organization. To keep check upon these men the executive board had asked the European societies to forward their names and places of employment, the latter fact often being ascertainable when such molders continued to remit dues home. The plan was indorsed by the foreign unions but, down to July, 1912, only the Central Association had sent in the names as requested.³ Since that time most of the other organizations have also responded. To make it still more difficult for immigrant union journeymen to evade American membership, the 1912 convention authorized the incoming officers to secure an arrangement with the foreign societies whereby they should refuse to accept dues from members located in America, unless they could

¹ *International Molders' Journal* (October, 1911), p. 773; (July, 1914), p. 576.

² *Ibid.* (May, 1911), p. 365.

³ *Proceedings* (1912), p. 23. The 577 molders who affiliated in America were distributed by origin as follows:

Scottish Association.....	397	Norwegian Union.....	14
Friendly Society.....	94	Danish Union.....	10
Swedish Union.....	37	German Union.....	5
Austrian Union.....	15	Central Association.....	5

present an "identification card" showing that they had joined the International Molders' Union.¹ By 1913 such arrangements had been made and headquarters at Cincinnati were prepared to grant a "certificate of good standing" to be forwarded by all members who wished to continue their foreign connections in order to obtain the high benefits paid abroad or for any other purpose.² At present, if a certificate of good standing is not forwarded, the negligent molder is liable to suspension in his home organization.

Since the outbreak of the present war there has naturally been much less use for the system of card interchange, as but few foreign molders have come to America. The drift of the mechanics has rather been the other way on account of the demand for men in munition plants. The writer is unable to say, however, to what extent former members of European molders' unions have returned to their original homes. When peace is concluded, we may doubtless expect a new flood of immigration from some quarters of Europe. In such a contingency the molders expect to find their existing alliances very substantial means of protecting themselves once more from foreign journeymen who are what might be called "have-to-be" union men.

It is a noteworthy fact that the International Molders' Union of North America has more foreign agreements than any labor organization in America. Pioneer work of a practical character has been done by this union along a line that conforms with the growing idea of international solidarity in labor interests. When molders' unions possessing stability and business-like methods develop in European countries not yet reached by alliance, it may be expected that they, too, will be asked to co-operate in the exchange of cards. In the British Isles there are still five or six small unions with which negotiations may be taken up.

As intimated previously, a few other American unions besides the molders have consummated foreign agreements. Thus, the United Mine Workers are members of a loose confederation embracing the miners' unions of Europe and America. In 1906 a uniform transfer card was adopted and required to be recognized by the organized miners of the world. During the eighties the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

² *International Molders' Journal* (March, 1913), p. 222.

boiler-makers, iron shipbuilders and helpers also maintained for a time an alliance with the British union of the trade. The cigar-makers and the piano- and organ-workers at present accept members of foreign unions in their respective trades without payment of initiation fee. Above all, the seamen are parties to an international alliance that closely approximates a federation in structure and powers.

It may, perhaps, be the case, as one writer suggests,¹ that the foreign agreements of the molders and other unions will open the way for international defensive and offensive alliances, even though at the present time world federation among most unions "is still largely a dream of the future." It can hardly be said that the molders look forward to such a goal. The policy of the union has always been conservative so far as its militant co-operation with other organizations has been concerned. Should apparent need arise for closer relations with European molders we may be sure that the American union will proceed very cautiously before intrusting itself to an international federation. On the other hand, if it develops that closer co-operation becomes necessary to settle problems yet to arise, we may be assured that the molders will meet the situation in a purely practical way. Business-like methods, rather than sentiment, have, as a rule, always governed the policy of the organization.

So far, all that has been required in the union with which we are concerned is that there should be intercontinental understandings concerning emigrant molders. Some day reductions in transportation costs together with the destruction of various trade barriers may result in making the world but one market for manufactured goods. If this situation ever obtains we may be practically certain that trade unionism will strengthen itself through intercontinental federation or amalgamation, since labor organization has kept pace in scope with business expansion. Trades like the molders, which already have laid the foundations for such a movement, would doubtless be the first to carry it out to its fruition.

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¹ Glocker, *The Government of American Trade Unions*, pp. 87, 89 (Johns Hopkins University Studies, Series 31).